14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

464 178 [434] [439] 881 178 745 177 361 [162]

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

846

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

[431]

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

844 846 178 [431] 881

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

[785] [262] [841]

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

[178]

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127

The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843

513 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841

843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

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171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(Continued)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	35
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	130 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

TABLE 4

Analyzed Communities

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley		
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	3	51	3	3
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	8		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	1	
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2	
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1	
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1						
Mixed-blood households								2			1						
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1						
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1									
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2						
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			82	1	1	3		24		24		2
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9		
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1							
Mixed blood households								4		1							
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1		
Attended only other meetings	7							1									
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7		
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	113	3	23	1	1
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	53		49		10		
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2		
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2		
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		3	2	2	1	1

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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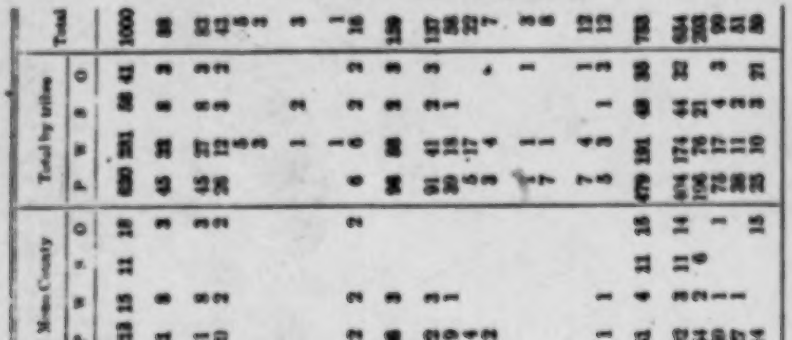

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

guries, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

OTHER PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	369	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

TOTALS OF ALL PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

fewer than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N W 162 171 #795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3497	747	1541	130	5915
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3319	641	1531	114	5605

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	8	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

N W 162 563 #795

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1060	196	18.4
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1